city involves just as much a negotiation and imagination of the future of both one's one future and Sápmi's future, as a continuation of the past. As the title of our book suggests, this process of trying to imagine a future for Sápmi in the city and the challenges and opportunities that this involves is an issue we discuss in many different ways in this book.

Methods and Methodology

The book is a result of the NUORGÁV research project, which was conducted between 2014 and 2019. Data gathering and analysis for this book has mainly taken place within that time period, although the authors also draw on experience and results from their earlier, contemporaneous, and to a small extent from later projects. The empirical data is based on the study of both national-level events and processes in four different states, and studies of different cities within these states. The great differences between the cases we study have enabled us to perform structured comparisons between the different urban areas and countries (George and Bennet 2005). Our methodological perspective is inspired by extended case method, where we have applied a reflexive approach "in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the 'micro' to the 'macro' and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building on pre-existing theory" (Burawoy 1998, 2000). We have used this because we wanted to study the cases from a comparative perspective, where we wanted to explore how the macro level—the political, the colonial, and the Indigenous—can be integrated in analysis of experiences of individuals on the micro level. This perspective represents a break with empirical traditions where theory is reconstructed on the basis of empirical data that represent "anomalies" in relation to existing theory in the field (Burawoy 1998; Vassenden 2008). The reflexive process between theory and empirical data, the macro, and the micro, enables analysis that can combine the focus on colonial power structures with the experiences of Sámi in their everyday life.

We are also inspired by postcolonial (Said 1978), decolonial, and Indigenous (Smith 2012) perspectives on research and methodology in line with the theoretical perspectives that we use where a central objective is to "talk back" to science and its historically taken-for-granted assumptions about "objectivity" and "neutrality," showing its position in a global system influenced by imperialism, colonialism, power relations, and "regimes of truth." As the Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) reminds us, Indigenous people have historically

been excluded from science, apart from being those who are "being studied." For the colonized, "research" has often been a "dirty" word, associated with painful memories and distrust, excluding Indigenous ways of knowing and being.

We have earlier noted that the authors hail from different academic backgrounds (history, political science, sociology). In addition to differences regarding the academic backgrounds of the researchers, the authors are also differently positioned in relation to the Indigenous group examined here. The book refers to the Sámi in the third person, but most of the editors and contributors are themselves Sámi. Such an insider-position in relation to the group under study may provide some methodological benefits that are not as easily accessible for non-insiders—such as increased trust and accessibility from informants, knowledge of how and where to get in touch with possible informants, shared knowledges between informant and researcher that decrease the chances of culture-based misunderstandings. The insider-position also provides an Indigenous academic perspective on the affairs of Indigenous people. There is not, of course, any single and Indigenous perspective on Indigenous issues, or any single Sámi perspective on Sámi issues: all communities contain within them a broad spectrum of perspectives. We nevertheless hold that when researchers have a connection to the group under study—such as personal identity, culture, and social inclusion—this makes it more likely that the focus and analysis of the researchers will be recognized as familiar to the group under study. That the group under study should recognize itself in the research on them is something we hold to be ethically of value. This is particularly true in cases where the group under study have a history of being suppressed and marginalized by others—including by non-insider academics. Such is the case when it comes to Indigenous people in general, and also specifically the Sámi. The questions, interpretations, and conclusions of non-Indigenous researchers may be quite different from the ones provided by Indigenous researchers (Berg 2000; Olsen 2016: 29–30). We consider that the involvement of Indigenous researchers in a project reduces the risk of ending up with focuses and interpretations that are experienced as alien to the Indigenous group under study or even detrimental to their well-being.

The book's author list also includes people who are not part of the Sámi ethnic group, and their perspective is an important part of the whole. An outsider's perspective is valuable both when the society under study is that of a dominant people or that of an Indigenous people. For example, non-embeddedness in the social world and cul-

ture of the group under study may make a researcher ask questions about things that members of the group take for granted, which can produce novel research that is of value for the group itself. And while some informants may trust one of their own more than an outsider, other informants may find it difficult to open up to someone they see as well integrated into their community, so that the presence of an outsider may in some cases be a welcome opportunity for members of the group to talk about issues that are experienced as difficult to talk openly about within the group. In the study of Indigenous peoples, the outsiders' perspective has, however, not been a healthy supplement as much as it has been the dominant perspective. When it comes to the Sámi people, particularly the North Sámi of Norway, this situation has changed in the latter decades, since many individuals from the group have stepped into academia and produced research that has significantly colored the academic discourses on their own people. For other subunits of the Sámi nation, particularly the Sámi of Russia, their own voice remains the supplement and not the dominant voice in the academic narratives about their group (Berg-Nordlie 2017).

Neither insiders nor outsiders have a neutral position when writing about a group. In both cases, there are preconceived ideas and attitudes that are likely to sway focus and analysis—this is unavoidable (Berg-Nordlie 2017: 54–58; Olsen 2016: 29–30, 32–35, 42). Likewise, both insider and outsider researchers may have relevant social and identity-based connections that one should be transparent about. As for researchers positioned on the inside, their research interests, and the basic way they understand the world, which again informs their analysis of society, may be colored by their positioning within the group—their gender, subgroup identity, class, language, political ideology, connections to social, cultural, and political groups etc. Self-reflection and transparency regarding one's own position is healthy both when authors from dominant ethnic groups study their own society and when people from marginalized groups study their own society. For that reason, we will at the end of this introductory chapter provide a brief (alphabetic) presentation of the book's authors with a focus on this. In regard to those of the authors who are Sámi, some subgroup affiliations are mentioned. Sámi subgroups will be discussed in chapter 1, which constitutes an introduction to the Sámi nation. The authors' connections to concrete organizations mentioned in various chapters will be noted both here and within those chapters, for transparency's sake.

The NUORGÁV project was financed by Norwegian Research Council and the Programme for Sámi Research SAMISK II, a program that

had as its main objective to "enhance the quantity and scientific merit of Sámi research" (Norwegian Research Council 2018: 5). The Sámi programs in the Norwegian Research council have since the beginning focused on recruiting "more native Sámi researchers and establish networks and national research schools for Sámi research" (Norwegian Research Council 2018: 5). These formulations reflect the Indigenization of Sámi research. There has been a shift from earlier times when most researchers who did research in Sámi societies were non-Sámi to a situation where it is often held that researchers ideally should be Sámi in order to do "good" research. This shift reflects the international development as well, like Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) describes: there has been a development in Indigenous research from a situation where research has traditionally been done by outsiders, with little or no involvement from the Indigenous communities themselves, to a situation where more and more Indigenous people themselves are researchers, and where this community of researchers to a greater extent than before is organized through institutions built on Indigenous perspectives and with Indigenous scholars themselves. An example of this in Sápmi is the Sámi University of Applied Sciences (Sámi Allaskuvla) in Kautokeino (*Guovdageaidnu*).

According to the Sámi scholar Vigdis Stordahl (2008), researchers without Sámi background have often been advised not to do research in the Sámi society, while Sámi researchers have been criticized for not doing the "right" research. Stordahl (2008) argues that this "double bind" situation is caused by difficulties separating the different levels of research, that is, on one hand, knowledge, research paradigms, and methodology, and on the other, Sámi politics (Stordahl 2008). However, as Kuokkanen (2007) points out, it is important to remember that Indigenous perspectives in research have to reflect the fact that research is usually done within academic institutions, and a global research community, where the academic structures reproduce certain systems of thought and knowledge, rarely reflect Indigenous worldviews. According to Kuokkanen (2007), even Indigenous scholars are part of this system reproducing colonial power structures, because they often are trained and work within a system based on certain values, norms, and economic structures embedded in global colonial structures that marginalize Indigenous knowledge and societies.

In the NUORGÁV project, the connection to the Indigenous community was further strengthened by holding three meetings where representatives of Indigenous organizations were presented with project ideas and findings, to discuss, comment critically, and give advice. The

last of these meetings was an open, two-day conference ("An Urban Future for Sápmi?" in Trondheim 2017) where representatives of the Sámi community were specially invited to participate and to open the proceedings each day—on the first day, the conference was opened by representatives of the local urban Indigenous student organization Saemien Studeenth Tråantesne, on the second day by the President of the Sámediggi of Norway. We believe the advice and discussions with representatives of the Indigenous community have strengthened our research both ethically and methodologically and provided us with a more scientifically valuable outcome. We underscore that the advisory groups and external individuals have had no veto rights over the organization or outcome of research, and the content of this book is the responsibility of the researchers and the researchers only.

We have interviewed both Sámi who have grown up in the city and Sámi who have moved to the city for education, work, or other reasons. Several of the interviewees have many roles and positions. Informants were approached through a combination of general calls for interview participation, and utilization of the researchers' network in Sámi society. Interviews have been conducted with Sámi living in urban areas—both those who take part in organizing urban Indigenous spaces and those who only use their services—and with non-Sámi who are involved in the politics and administration regarding such spaces. Informants were approached through a combination of general calls for interview participation, and utilization of the researchers' network in Sámi society. Members of the advisory group also facilitated contact with some informants. Other informants came into the project through snowballing—e.g., they were mentioned by early interviewees as people who would be beneficial for the project to talk to later, they were contacted by researchers and agreed to participate. Interviews were generally performed by the researchers on location in various urban areas, but some interviews were also text-based, done over email or messenger services.

Interviewees were informed about the origins and goals of the project, promised their quotes would be anonymized, and told they could at any point withdraw their participation and retract their interviews up until the moment of publication. These are ethical practices in any case, but one should perhaps be particularly aware of the need to clearly communicate to informants that they control their own information and have complete power to withdraw their participation when the informants are members of marginalized and discriminated groups—even if the authors themselves belong to said group. A few of our informants were minors, and interviews with this category of

people demands particular measures to ensure informed consent. Consent in such cases was obtained from both the guardians and the informants themselves prior to the interviews. Researchers made sure to explain the research project in such a way that both guardians and minors would be well-informed about the intentions and consequences. We, as researchers, have a responsibility to conduct research in such a way that it does not have harmful consequences for the young participants, while at the same time ensuring that young people are given a voice in issues that are important to them. Young people also have a right to be heard, on their own terms (Alderson and Morrow 2004). Several interviews used in this project contain testimonies about racism and discrimination and accounts about other difficult experiences that the interviewees have undergone during their lifetime. To ensure privacy, interviews were anonymized before they were shared with other researchers in the team, and in addition, certain particularly personal passages, unique enough for the informant to be identifiable particularly by researchers who are themselves part of Sámi society, were omitted entirely before the interviews were passed on to other researches on the team.

When talking to informants, the researchers used semi-structured interview guides. In the interviews with the administrative employees (non-Sámi and Sámi), we focused on how they facilitated development in the city regarding Sámi language and culture, and how they cooperated with Sámi organizations and other relevant Sámi circles and individuals. In the interviews with Sámi who were not administrative employees, which naturally constitutes the large majority of our interviews, we have focused on their experiences related to being Sámi in the city, how they experience the encounters with other people in the city, if they are active in any organizations or activities, how they relate to the local government and stakeholders in the city they live in, and if they feel that they are a part of decision-making and local democracy.

In addition, we have participated in meetings, concerts, informal encounters with Sámi, and other relevant activities. We have also followed relevant pages, groups, and people in social media. Regarding some of these activities, those of us who are Sámi would likely have been doing them in any case or were in fact already doing them as part of our Sámi lives. When we have been present in these arenas specifically as researchers to collect information, we have made sure that those responsible for the arenas (event organizers, group administrators, etc.) are aware of that, and we have done our best to make sure that those present know about our role in the situation. For our

research purposes, we have also included news articles, letters to the editors in relevant newspapers and media in general. We have also analyzed web pages, founding documents, articles of association, minutes of meetings, documents from municipal council meetings, and other relevant documents.

Introduction to the Chapters and the Authors

The Chapters

The task of this introduction has been to present and discuss some basic concepts with regard to our study of Indigenous urbanization, provide the reader with necessary information about the authors, and introduce the other chapters of the book. The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to a brief introduction of the book's other chapters.

In chapter 1, historians Mikkel Berg-Nordlie and Anna Andersen give a brief introduction to the Sámi nation and its homeland Sápmi with a focus on the historical interrelationship between Indigenous people and the state and the various ways the Sámi are subdivided—both the nation's subethnic groups and the administrative structures through which the states have divided the Sámi and Sápmi. The chapter is mainly an exploration of existing literature and relevant documents, and it is also to some extent informed by field work to examine the workings and significance of various administrative systems.

In chapter 2, Berg-Nordlie and Andersen present various historical processes of urbanization in Nordic Sápmi and Russian Sápmi. This chapter also discusses the extent to which we may say anything about the Sámi in quantitative terms. While this book is focused on qualitative research on Sámi urbanization, the fundamental fact of urbanization as defined here is nevertheless demographic change, and hence a phenomenon that is studied quantitatively. The chapter provides some indicators of the extent to which the Sámi are urbanized, and which localities in the North European states should be considered the focal points for Sámi urbanization. The chapter is based on studies of existing research literature on Sámi history and urbanization in the four states that have divided Sápmi between them and studies of available quantitative data regarding the Sámi of the four states.

In chapter 3, sociologist Astri Dankertsen explores the construction and negotiation of urban Sámi identities, mainly with use of the data from interviews with urban Sámi youth in Norway and Sweden. She focuses on differences and similarities between the two states and the

different cities. Chapter 3's findings are from fieldwork conducted by the author and Christina Åhrén among young Sámi in Norway and Sweden, both within and outside of Sápmi, mainly during the period 2015–2018.

In chapter 4, Berg-Nordlie, Andersen, and Dankertsen account for how and why Sámi in Norway and Russia have organized to create urban Indigenous spaces for the expression and preservation of Indigenous language and culture in urban areas and address the urban aspect of modern Sámi organization history. Chapter 4's findings are based on interviews conducted in both states during the period 2009–2019, mostly as part of the NUORGÁV project, in addition to document studies, media studies, and the study of existing literature.

In chapter 5, sociologist Chris Andersen discusses Sámi urbanization in light of the global Indigenous experience. What are the similarities and differences between Sámi urbanization and urban life and that of Indigenous peoples elsewhere? What can we learn from these differences and similarities?

In the conclusion, the editors of this volume—Mikkel Berg-Nordlie, Astri Dankertsen, and Marte Winsvold—provide a conclusive discussion to the book, by returning to some key questions regarding Sámi and other Indigenous demographics, identity, and politics that have been addressed throughout the book. Does the Indigenous nation of Sápmi have an urban future? And if it does, what does that future entail for Sámi language, culture, identity, and traditional industries?

The Appendices present (A) a list detailing the Sámi names of cities and other localities mentioned in the book and (B) a guide to the book's Cyrillic–Latin transcription system. Cyrillic is the writing system used for Russian and the Sámi languages in Russia.

The Authors

Anna Andersen (*née* **Afanasyeva**) holds a PhD in humanities with specialization in history, an M.A. degree in Indigenous studies from UiT—The Arctic University of Norway, and an M.A. equivalent in pedagogy from the Murmansk State Arctic University (MAGU). She defended her PhD dissertation entitled "Boarding School Education of the Sámi People in Soviet Union (1935–1989): Experiences of Three Generations" at UiT in 2019. She currently works at UiT, and teaches at the Sámi University of Applied Sciences in Kautokeino (*Guovdageaidnu*). Andersen is a Kildin Sami from the Kola Peninsula. She is the founder and was the first chairman of the Kola Sami youth association *Sam' Nuraš* (2006–2010) and has previously worked as

Indigenous Peoples Advisor at the International Barents Secretariat. She has worked on indigenous cooperation projects such as "The Kola Sámi Documentation Project," "Skolt Sámi culture across borders," and "Indigee 2–Indigenous Entrepreneurship project."

Chris Andersen is the dean of the Faculty of Native Studies at the University of Alberta. He became a faculty member in 2000 and received his PhD in 2005 from the UoA Department of Sociology. In 2014, he was awarded Full Professorship. He is the former Director of the Rupertsland Centre for Métis Research and additionally served as the Interim Institutional Co-Lead of Indigenous Initiatives for the University of Alberta from February 2018 to August, 2019. Dr. Andersen is the author of two books including, with Maggie Walter, *Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Indigenous Methodology* (Left Coast Press, 2013) and "*Métis*": *Race, Recognition and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood* (UBC Press, 2014). In 2015, the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association awarded "Métis" the "2014 Prize for Best Subsequent Book in Native American and Indigenous Studies" and in 2016, it was shortlisted for the 2015 Canada Prize. With Jean O'Brien, he also co-edited the recently published Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies (Taylor & Francis, 2017). Andersen was a founding member of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Executive Council, is a member of Statistics Canada's Advisory Committee on Social Conditions and is editor of the journal *Aboriginal Policy Studies*. In 2014, he was named as an inaugural Member of the Royal Society of Canada's College of New Scholars, Artists and Scientists**.**

Mikkel Berg-Nordlie is a historian who works as a researcher at the NIBR Institute for Urban and Regional Research at the Oslo Metropolitan University (NIBR—OsloMet), and is responsible for Sámi history articles in the Great Norwegian Encyclopedia (SNL). He wrote his PhD at UiT—Arctic University of Norway on the history of Russian Sámi representation in Russian politics and pan-Sámi networking, and holds an MA in peace and conflict studies from the University of Oslo. Berg-Nordlie co-wrote the book *Bridging Divides: Ethno-Political Leadership among the Russian Sámi* together with Indra Overland (Berghahn, 2013), was editor of *Indigenous Politics: Institutions, Representation, Mobilization* (ECPR, 2015) together with Jo Saglie and Ann Sullivan, and edited *Governance in Russian Regions: A Policy Comparison* (Pallgrave MacMillan, 2018) together with Sabine Kropp, Jørn Holm-Hansen, Johannes Schumann, and Aadne Aas-

land. Berg-Nordlie is a North Sámi whose family background is from, among others, the Kvalsund (*Fálesnuorri*) district of Finnmark County. He grew up partly in the South Sámi area (Helgeland), and partly in the North Sámi area (Tromsø/*Romsa*), and currently lives in Norway's capital Oslo (*Oslove*). Berg-Nordlie is a former leader of the Oslo and Surrounding Area Sámi Parents' Network, and current leader of the Socialist Left Party's Sámi Policy Council.

Astri Dankertsen holds a PhD in sociology, and an M.A. in social anthropology. Dankertsen is Associate Professor in Sociology at Nord University in Norway and is currently the head of The Division for Environmental Studies, International Relations, Northern Studies and Social Security. Dankertsen's Sámi background is from the North Sámi area in Norway, with a father from Loppa (*Láhppi*) in Finnmark County. She grew up in Oslo, something that might explain her enthusiasm for Sámi urbanity throughout her career. She is currently the leader of Sálto Sámesiebrre (Sámi organization for the Salten district), a local organization under the Norwegian Sámi Association (NSR), and also holds a position as a deputy representative of the national board of the NSR. She also represents the Red Party in Bodø City Council.

Marte Winsvold has a PhD in political science from the University of Oslo. She works at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, and her research interests center on political participation and the interface between civil society and formal government structures. In particular, Winsvold has been interested in the participation of underrepresented groups in formal political processes and the conditions for adequate representation. Winsvold grew up in Oslo and has no Sámi background. She was recruited to the study of Sámi urbanity because of her research interest in civil society and network governance.

Notes

1. Despite major differences, all four are states that developed from overseas Anglophone colonies during roughly the same period and have colonist-descendant majorities.
2. In this book, urban settlements with more than 50,000 residents are referred to as "cities." On the global scale of things, 50,000 may seem a very low bar for the word "city" to be used, but Northern Europe is a rather thinly populated part of the world, so it fits well in that context. In the northern part of this region, it is not uncommon to refer to any settlement with a population more than about 5,000 as a "city," but we have chosen the label "town" for

settlements with between 10,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, "small town" for settlements with between 5,000 and 10,000 residents, and "village" for settlements between 5,000 and 1,000 residents, while smaller settlements than these will be referred to as "hamlets."

3. To take the countries analyzed in Evelyn Peters and Chris Andersen (2013) as examples: in Canada, the percentage of indigenous populations living in urban areas went from 6.7 percent (1951) to 53.2 percent (2006), in the United States from ca. 10 percent (1930) to ca. 66–68 percent (2000), in Australia from 44 percent (1971) to 76 percent (2006), and in New Zealand from 7 percent (1936) to 84 percent (2006) (Peters and Andersen 2013: 23–24; Norris et al. 2013: 30; Snipp 2013: 176–80; Taylor 2013: 238–39; Kukutai 2013: 311–15). The Australian "leap" seems smaller, but here the start year was set at a rather late point. According to Taylor (2013: 238), Australian Indigenous demographic data before 1971 are so unreliable that this year was utilized as the "year zero" for his comparison.

4. Although it should be noted that this is not only a Nordic-Russian difference. There are also parts of the Anglo-American world where usage of the term "race" to describe ethnicity remains common and accepted, in stark contrast to the contemporary norms in the Nordic states.

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